

MR. CRITTENDEN'S REJOINDER TO MR. TOOMBS.

Mr. CRITTENDEN. I purpose to occupy a few moments to correct a mistake which I believe is rendered necessary by the remarks of my friend from Georgia. I have listened to him with great pleasure, and have caused to thank him for much that he has said.

I knew, sir, that Mr. Clay was not the author of the Missouri compromise; I knew that he did not draw the bill; but I knew from his own declarations in conversation, and in his speeches that he did approve and concur in its passage. He gave it his sanction. He thought it was doing nothing unconstitutional in it. I have been brought up in the opinion that it was not only constitutional, but one of the most beneficial acts that had ever been passed by Congress. It produced, you see, a revulsion of peace and good-will among the people of the United States, and that is above all price. Whatever sanction it may have failed to derive from the names of the great men who passed it, it has received abundantly from the people of the United States, who, for the thirty years that it remained on our statute book, gave it their approval and support. During all that period it gave peace to the country. It was for that I valued it. I valued that compromise when it was first made. I have cherished it ever since. It had become fixed in my mind, as part and parcel of our political system. I regarded Mr. Clay, as did the whole country, as entitled to the credit of that great measure. And it was for this that his countrymen conferred upon him the proudest and the noblest of his titles—the pacificator of his country.

Sir, I have not been able to cast away these impressions. I admit the Supreme Court to be the great arbiter, and I am a true citizen of the United States; but I differ from it, I do not the less admit its constitutional and supreme power in all the matters that come within its jurisdiction, and I am not wanting in confidence and respect for its decisions. We cannot always yield up our long-cherished convictions, even to the authority of that high tribunal. I find myself now in that condition, and I must be permitted to retain the opinion long established in my mind, that the Missouri compromise was a constitutional act.

My friend (Mr. Toombs) has said that some gentlemen seemed disposed to give no confidence whatever to the action of any of the Territorial Legislatures of Kansas, and that some gentlemen of the Black Republicans. Certainly he cannot intend such an imputation for me? (Mr. Toombs signified by a shake of the head that he did not.) I regard it merely as the Legislature of the Territory, and not as the Legislature of the United States. It is a body of men, and its members may be divided in politics, I do not know; nor do I care; nor was it at all material for my purpose. It is enough for me that it is the Legislature of the Territory, and that it is the Legislature taken upon this constitution on the 4th of January. The vote was taken, and the result was as reported to us. I have heard nothing to impeach that vote, nor any single fact alleged against it. The result of it was a majority of ten thousand in favor of the constitution. Certainly these ten thousand have at least as good a right to be counted as it is the six thousand returned as having voted on the 31st of December, have to be counted in favor of it. That was my object. It was to show that there was a majority against this instrument, and assuming all this action to be equally legitimate, the members of the convention had no more right to the vote to be taken by the Territorial Legislature than the members of the Territorial Legislature had to order an election to be taken on the whole constitution. Both proceeded from organized recognized bodies, one the Legislature of Kansas, and the other the Territorial Legislature, the common appeal is made to us, and the constitution is brought before us, it seems to me that we ought equally to take into consideration both these facts. Furthermore, I adverted to the evidence going to show that the six thousand were in favor of the constitution, there were many spurious and fraudulent votes to be deducted.

Mr. President, I acknowledge that forms are not only useful, but, in many cases, necessary. I agree that if an election took place of the people they would have a right to be counted as it is the six thousand returned as having voted on the 31st of December, have to be counted in favor of it. That was my object. It was to show that there was a majority against this instrument, and assuming all this action to be equally legitimate, the members of the convention had no more right to the vote to be taken by the Territorial Legislature than the members of the Territorial Legislature had to order an election to be taken on the whole constitution. Both proceeded from organized recognized bodies, one the Legislature of Kansas, and the other the Territorial Legislature, the common appeal is made to us, and the constitution is brought before us, it seems to me that we ought equally to take into consideration both these facts. Furthermore, I adverted to the evidence going to show that the six thousand were in favor of the constitution, there were many spurious and fraudulent votes to be deducted.

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I have spoken on these conclusions, and I shall not on them in voting against the acceptance of this Lecompton constitution. My friend, (Mr. Toombs) I have no doubt, is a perfect gentleman, but what I say to you is, that I have no doubt that those who do act, and do vote, must be effective, and must control. I agree, also, that the return is a necessary form, and that the revision of that return is subject to the Territorial Legislature, and that when that is done, there is an end of the case—because there is no further tribunal to which an appeal can be taken; but I supposed and argued that when this constitution was presented, before the Territorial Legislature, called upon now to recognize the validity of these acts—called upon to recognize what was the will of the people, in respect to them, we have a right to look to all the evidence, as well as to that which is placed in form as to that which impedes it for fraud.

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Why need we of the South be impatient and anxious to hasten the admission of Kansas to the Union? Whatever constitution you put upon them now will not last; but you will have two Senators immediately from there. Should the South be in a hurry to have two more Senators here as you would not get from the South? But these are small matters. If the South could view this subject as I do, if they could have looked at this constitution and the circumstances from which it had its origin, and those which attend it, as I do, they would have acted the very part that I have indicated; they would take no ignominious position; they would occupy no ignominious position of standing upon little points and nice stoppels. No, sir, the South would say—it is in her character, in her spirit to say so—we go upon great principles, and we go for the truth. Occupying that position, she would have stood proudly erect, with justice and honest seated upon her brow. That is her natural and accustomed attitude, and in that attitude I love to contemplate her.

Sir, gentlemen of the South from whom it is my misfortune to differ on this occasion, will do me great injustice to suppose that it was my purpose, in anything I have said, to question or impugn the purity of their motives. They but follow their honest convictions, as I follow mine. I have endeavored to perform my duty as a Senator belonging to the same section; my opinion and vote have been given frankly and independently; but I hope without any presumption. I devoutly hope that whatever measure be adopted, though contrary to my opinion, may turn out to be that which is most beneficial to our country. I do not believe in a wrong rather than that my country should suffer from my error.

I am neither of the Democratic nor of the Republican party. I wear no party shackle. I am here as a Senator of the old Kentucky—loyal and noble old Commonwealth. My ambition is to act in her spirit and by her inspiration. I did not come here to act in the character of a partisan. Long service and experience in public affairs have divested me of much of the misconception, the prejudice and the partiality that belong to the party; and upon lately taking my seat here, probably in the last term of my public service, it was my intention and my hope to act rather the part of a patriot than that of a party man.

I am a true son of the South; may property fill all her borders, and sunshine forever rest upon her head. But for all this, I do not love the Union the less. I am a true citizen of the great United States. I claim the rights of it, and I love it, and for the preservation of that Union which makes it so, I will always be ready to say and to do whatever I see fit. It is in this spirit, sir, that I have endeavored humbly to do my duty, my duty to the South, and my duty to the whole country.

THE AMERICAN.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 3, 1858.

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WHAT WILL BE ITS FATE?

What will be the fate of the Kansas bill? is the question now asked. The Senate, we suppose, will reject the amendment of the House, and return the bill to that body. Will they insist, or will they recede? If they insist, it then becomes a question whether the Senate will adhere, or allow the bill to fall, or whether they will press passing it is, rather than leaving Kansas as it is. We can hardly suppose the Senate will do this, so clearly in defiance to public opinion; but we shall see.

SENATORS CRITTENDEN AND BELL.

A friend writing to a gentleman now in this city, from one of the Eastern States, says—"How like the bugle-blast of our old and familiar trumpet, sound the patriotic speeches of the eloquent CRITTENDEN, and the honest BELL! I love those noble men, God bless them! Was I not right about Mr. Buchanan?"

"I love those noble men," Yes, and in giving utterance to this exclamation the writer but expresses the feelings of not less, but hundreds of thousands of American people, whose eyes are turned anxiously on them in this crisis of affairs.

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We wish to call public attention to the dignity and decorum which marked the whole of the proceedings in the House of Representatives, notwithstanding the exciting nature of the question, which was about to receive a solution. With only a few exceptions, the members of the House of Representatives, this example of parliamentary propriety in approaching and effecting the decision of an important question (one so considered by both parties) will enter the history of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

Mr. Winter Davis perfectly annihilated all legal pretenses urged by the Administration justifying Lecompton, in one of the clearest and most convincing arguments yet made in the House.

WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE THE RESULT?

In view of what is taking place in every part of the United States—the political agitations, the sectional heart-burnings and exasperations, the rapid increase of crime, the daring audacity of those who set the laws at defiance, the insecurity of life and property, the utter inefficiency of courts, the indisposition of juries to convict even where guilt is apparent, and the too frequent letting off of hardened villains by prosecuting attorneys for a consideration—all this, we say, is calculated to suggest the question in the minds of upright men, Christians and statesmen, "What is likely to be the result of this experiment of self-government we are trying, and which we have for fifty years past been boastfully declaring we had successfully tried?"

There is scarcely a city in the Union that is not more or less under mob rule; not one where the murderer and assassin do not lurk about, housing up in dens of drunkenness during the day, and coming out at night, like beasts of prey, to seek and attack their unwary victims under cover of darkness. And they do this from day to day, from night to night, from month to month, with perfect impunity. Those who are placed in office as guardians of the community, whose duty it is to protect society, in anything I have said, to question or impugn the purity of their motives. They but follow their honest convictions, as I follow mine. I have endeavored to perform my duty as a Senator belonging to the same section; my opinion and vote have been given frankly and independently; but I hope without any presumption. I devoutly hope that whatever measure be adopted, though contrary to my opinion, may turn out to be that which is most beneficial to our country. I do not believe in a wrong rather than that my country should suffer from my error.

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RICHARD HOLMES.

What nation is it that annually bestows a reward upon that citizen or subject who has during the preceding year, saved the life or lives of one or more human beings? And what can be more worthy of the highest commendation, and of public thanks and reward, than the saving of the life of one human being, or of many? Surely he or she who has done this, or has relieved the distress of any fellow creature, or rescued them from imminent peril, perhaps at the risk of his own life, may well feel conscious that he has not lived in vain. What man or woman in the world does not admire the lofty disinterestedness and saint-like humanity of Florence Nightingale? Even Queen Victoria herself, so dearly loved by the British nation, might almost envy, if goodness could envy, the affectionate regard which not only the British nation but the whole Christian world entertain for that noble woman.

Now, though unknown to fame, there is an individual at present in our midst, who has probably saved more human lives at the risk—the frequent risk of his own, and at the entire sacrifice of his health, than any other in the nation. We allude to RICHARD HOLMES, of Cape May County, New Jersey. The dangers of the coast of New Jersey to vessels bound to New York, and the great number of shipwrecks that happen there, are well known. Mr. Holmes has for many years acted as the agent of the New York and Philadelphia Insurance Companies, and underwriters there, and has, consequently, had great experience of the perils of that coast, and in saving ships, crews, and cargoes when thrown among the terrible breakers so fatal to everything that is at their mercy. No man understands the management of a boat better than Mr. Holmes; no man ever showed himself more dauntless on all occasions than he; no man could exhibit more skill in rescuing human beings from the fury of the waves than he has, and we may add that no one has ever been more ready to "dare the dangerous wave," when the voice of humanity rose above the roar of the maddened sea, and the wails of hundreds of men, women, and children came over the surf to reach and touch his heart. It is moderately estimated that he has been mainly instrumental in the hands, and by the blessing of Providence, of saving the lives of at least eight hundred human beings, in the doing of which he has almost always risked his own!

His skill, judgment, nerve, courage, and activity, were so well known to the boatmen he employed, that they never hesitated to go where he was willing to lead; but he never said "go, boys!" his exhortation was, "COME BOYS! there is danger, but we must brave it, and we have stout hearts and strong arms; cheerily, boys! there are human beings in yonder surf that must find a watery grave, if we do not save them; we can, and must do it!"

A few years ago Mr. Holmes was like, active, full of spirit and confidence, and, as we have long known him well, we can say, full of good will to all mankind—with a heart as big as a bushel, in a slender frame, that did not weigh more than one hundred and thirty pounds. What is he now? His hand and heart, thank God, are as sound as ever, but his frame is but a wreck, made so by paralysis, brought on by exposures to severe cold, and snow, ice, hail, and breakers, and by over exertion when that exposed. But though he is no longer able to enter, take command of, and manage a boat, nor to even walk, he has not been unmindful of his fellow human beings, and has, while confined to his house, invented a Life Boat, which will venture to say cannot be surpassed nor equalled. One of these is now at the Navy-Yard, and has excited the admiration of those most capable of judging of her good qualities; and he looks the most rigid trial of her by officers of the Navy and others. "One of her eminent qualities is, that if upset in the surf, she will immediately right herself, without shipping water enough to do any harm, and she is the only self-righting boat ever invented." She sits upon the waters like a thing of life, and behaves in the surf, as she knew what her duty was, and was determined to do it, as her inventor and author had ever done his until disabled by the act of God.

We shall not undertake a description of her; we are not capable of doing it; but those who are, have done so, and have spoken of her in unqualified praise.

The Insurance Companies of New York and Philadelphia, which appointed committees to examine and test her, speak of her in the strongest possible terms of commendation. That is enough for us.

The President of the Mutual Insurance Company of Philadelphia, Richard S. Smith, Esq., says:

Mr. Holmes has won the confidence and regard of the underwriters by his self-sacrificing devotion to his duty. He has rescued from wrecks hundreds (I believe I may say thousands) of persons, many of whom must have perished, but for his bold and energetic action."

And now, we commend Mr. Holmes to members of Congress, and hope he will meet his just reward.

THE HOLMORON WAY.

If the administration go on in the way they have begun, the Mormon war will be the most expensive job our Government ever undertook. The enormous expense of the Florida war, and the unheard of prices paid for the use of steamboats employed in it, and for almost everything used or eaten, raised a prodigious hue-and-cry against Mr. Van Buren's administration, and helped to sink it so low that the hand of resurrection could never reach it. But the expenses of that war were a mere bagatelle to those of the one now on hand; and when the day comes for the settlement of the accounts, and the items, as well as the sum total shall be seen by the people, such will be their indignation and denunciation of Mr. Buchanan and his administration that they will, if they have any feeling at all, call upon the mountains to cover them, and the rocks to hide them.

The Democratic party, headed, led, and commanded by an old Federalist, will soon find itself where the eloquent Hannagan once said Mr. Polk would be, if he proved false to his pledges, false to his friends, and false to his country.

The \$25,000 OPERATION IN THE PHILADELPHIA POST OFFICE attracts very little attention. There was a time when such a thing would have filled the newspapers and occupied the attention of Congress. Now, it is regarded almost as a matter of course, and people say, "only \$25,000; that is moderate!"

DOINGS OF CONGRESS.

The Senate had, in the early part of the week, the bill to admit Minnesota as a State, under consideration. The principal questions discussed were whether it should have three representatives, or two, or only one. The bill will be before the Senate, but was postponed on Thursday, to take up a bill to provide for the organization of a regiment of mounted volunteers for the defence of the frontier of Texas, and to authorize the President to call into the service of the United States two additional regiments of volunteers, which was passed.

Mr. Douglas, on Wednesday, presented the constitution of Oregon, and also petitions from the citizens of Dacotah asking the organization of that Territory.

Mr. A. G. Brown, on Thursday, presented a bill of very great importance to the citizens of and even the sejoirers in Washington, whose lives are now at the mercy of out-throats and assassins, hundreds of whom now prowl about our city. It was a bill to establish an Auxiliary Guard for the protection of public and private property in the city of Washington, and repealing all acts heretofore passed in relation to that subject.

After the passage of the Kansas bill, as amended by the House, it was returned to the Senate for their concurrence; whereupon Mr. Green moved to take it up for consideration, and then that the amendment be disagreed to.

AN EVENTFUL DAY.

The fate of the Lecompton measure was decided, at least for the present, by the House of Representatives on Thursday. As it was understood and agreed upon to take the vote upon the bill on that day, every member was in his seat who could get there, and all save one, Mr. Caruthers, of Missouri. The galleries too, were filled to overflowing, as the desire to witness the scene, and the interest felt in the result were intense.

The Union says:

"On no previous occasion has the action of Congress attracted a larger audience than that present yesterday in the galleries of the House of Representatives. Every seat seemed to be filled, while the door-ways were crowded by an eager throng striving to gain admittance. The ladies' galleries were full to overflowing. The seats assigned to the diplomatic corps were occupied by several members thereof, who doubtless embraced the occasion to take a lesson in the Democratic mode of disposing of a great and exciting question. The scene was altogether impressive, and the proceedings of the House unusually decorous and orderly. Including the Speaker, there were two hundred and thirty members, in their seats; only one being absent, Mr. Caruthers, of Missouri. We have no recollection of any measure that has called out so full a vote as the bill to admit Kansas."

At the hour of one o'clock, the bill was taken up, when Mr. Giddings having objected to it, the question was, "Shall the bill be rejected?" Upon this the yeas were 97; nays 187.

It having been read a second time, Mr. Montgomery moved the CRITTENDEN amendment as a substitute.

Mr. QUITMAN submitted as a substitute for the substitute of Mr. MONTGOMERY, the Senate bill, excluding therefrom the following language: "And that nothing in this act shall be construed to abridge or infringe any right of the people asserted in the constitution of Kansas, at all times to alter, reform, or abolish their form of government in such manner as they may think proper; Congress hereby disclaiming any authority to interfere or declare the construction of the constitution of any State, except to say that it be republican in form, and not in conflict with the constitution of the United States."

Upon which the yeas were 73, nays 160.

The question recurring on the CRITTENDEN amendment, the yeas and nays were demanded, and stood, yeas 120, nays 112, as follows: YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Andrews, Bennett, Billingsworth, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Boynton, Burlingame, Burroughs, Campbell, Cass, Chaffee, Chapman, Clark of Connecticut, Clark of New York, Clawson, Clark, C. Cochran of New York, Cockerill, Colfax, Conine, Corvode, Cox, Cragin, Curtis, Darnall, Davis of Maryland, Davis of Indiana, Davis of Massachusetts, Davis of Iowa, Deane, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, English, Farnsworth, Fenton, Foley, Foster, Giddings, Gilmer, Gilmer, Gooden, Granger, Groveshead, Groves, Hall of Ohio, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Harris of Maryland, Harris of Illinois, Haskin, Hickman, Hoar, Horton, Howard, Owen Jones of Pennsylvania, Kellogg, Kellogg, Kilgore, Knapp, Kunkel of Pennsylvania, Lawrence, Leach, Lester, Lovett, McKibben, Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, Matteson, Montgomery, Rice, Ritchie, Robbins, Roberts, Royce, Shaw of New York, Sherman of Ohio, Sherman of New York, Smith of Illinois, Spenser, Stanton, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Townsend, Woodard, Woodard, Waldron, Walton, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburne of Maine, Wilson and Wood—120.

NAYS—Messrs. Ahl, Anderson, Arnold, Atkins, Avery, Barlow, Bishop, Boock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Bryan, Burnett, Burns, Caskie, Clark of Missouri, Clay, Clemens, Clingman, Co. John, Cope of New York, Corning, Craig of Missouri, Craig of North Carolina, Crawford, Curry, Davidson, Davis of Mississippi, Davis of Tennessee, J. G. Jones of Pennsylvania, Keith, Kelly, Ketcher, McQueen, Lamar, Landy, Leidy, Letcher, Mackay, McQuay, Mason, Maynard, Miles, Miller, Milson, Moore, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Powell, Quinn, Ready, Reagan, Riley, Ruffin, Russell, Sandage, Savage, Seale, Scott, Searing, Seward, Shaw of North Carolina, Shorter, Sickles, Singleton, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Stallworth, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart of Maryland, Talbot, Taylor of New York, Taylor of Louisiana, Tripp, Ward, Warren, Watkins, White, Whiteley, Winslow, Woodson, Wortendyke, Wright of Tennessee, Wright of Georgia, and Zollcoffer—112.

So the substitute was agreed to, and the yeas and nays being demanded, the bill was passed by the same vote. Mr. Montgomery then moved to reconsider the vote, and to lay that motion on the table, which was done, and the House adjourned.

WAR BETWEEN BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY.—According to accounts received in England by the steamer Tyne, the Brazilians were collecting a large naval and military force, at Montevideo, for the purpose of attacking Paraguay. They were only delaying until the arrival of some gun-boats from England. The news by the Tyne is that the Government party, at Montevideo, had prevailed against its opponents. A battle had been fought about eighty miles from the city, in which the Government troops were victorious. The commander-in-chief and the chief officers of the opposition force were taken prisoners. The representatives of the foreign Powers interfered with the Montevideo Government to spare the lives of the prisoners. Clemency was promised, but before the Government pardon could be transmitted the whole of the prisoners had been shot.

There are living in the vicinity of Churchoy, New York, nine members of a family, the youngest of whom is sixty years old. Their names are Silvers.

THE RELIGIOUS AWAKENING.

The interest in religious matters in this vicinity continues unabated. The numerous meetings for prayer and preaching are thronged daily, and the fruits are becoming more apparent, in the increased number of conversions reported. Accounts from different parts of the country all concur in representing the work as still advancing and extending. We have gathered a few of the most striking facts, from many columns of similar items that have passed under our eye within a few days:

At Rev. J. W. Dadman's church, Hanover street, in this city, on Sunday, there was a continued series of services for fifteen hours, commencing at six o'clock A. M., and ending at nine o'clock P. M.

Among the most interesting religious meetings held in Boston, are the daily prayer-meetings of the Young Men's Christian Association held at their rooms in Tremont Temple, from five-and-a-half to six-and-a-half o'clock P. M. If the parents or friends of any young man who is in Boston, desire he should attend these meetings, and will send a note expressing that desire, giving the address of the individual, directed to C. D., Box 2350, Boston, he will receive a personal invitation from some member of the Association.

It is stated that a Legislative prayer-meeting is held every morning at Albany.

About 150 conversions are reported in Saco and Biddeford, Me.

In Rutland, Vt., 100 persons have professed conversion in the Rev. Dr. Aiken's church, and at the close of a recent meeting, from 60 to 70 inquirers remained for special religious conversation and prayer.

A correspondent writing from Bridgeport, Conn., says that about 300 recent conversions have occurred in that city.

At Rockaway, L. I., the revival, which has been for some time in progress, has had such an influence upon the community that there are not more than a half a dozen adult persons in the place who have not become members of churches. Among those who have been recently converted are 800 fishermen.

In Trenton, among the Methodist churches, there have been upward of 1700 recent additions.

We find in our Western exchange papers, universally, long accounts of the progress of the revival at the West. It extends entirely through the Northwest, and on the border of the Southwestern tier of States.

Prayer-meetings are held in Cincinnati three times a day, morning, noon and night. At Detroit and Grand Rapids, union prayer-meetings of all denominations have been commenced. As the bell strikes noon in St. Louis, hundreds of merchants, mechanics, professional men, laborers, with one accord quit their places of business and gather for prayer.

In the Virginia Conference of the Methodist church there were reported 807 accessions to the churches within the last few weeks; in the Erie Conference over 700; in the Jamestown District, more than 1300, and in the Pittsburgh Conference, more than 1000.

The daily prayer-meetings in Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Harrisburg are very large.

In Newark, N. J., the union prayer-meetings are attended to overflowing. Some of the stores in the chief business streets are closed, with a notice on the door—"Will re-open at the close of the prayer-meeting."

The New York Post of Monday speaks of the interest in that city as follows:

"The revival is extending. In no less than fifteen churches in this city are non-prayer-meetings held on secular days, not to speak of Burton's old theatre, which is so crowded that negotiations are pending to obtain some larger building, like the Museum. In Brooklyn also an increased number of churches will